

Message Text

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FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAMASCUS 6372 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 08 TH
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QUOTE S E C R E T DAMASCUS 6372

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PASS SECRETARY' SPARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, SY, IS, US

SUBJ: MID-EAST PEACE PROCESS

1. CALLED ON PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL ADVISOR DAOUDY OCT 8
TO REVIEW KHADDAM'S WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK MEETINGS WITH
PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY. (HE HAD RECEIVED SYRIAN TRANS-
SCRIPT OF THE WASHINGTON TALKS, WHICH ARRIVED HERE BY
SPECIAL COURIER LAST MONDAY, BUT SINCE FONMIN'S PARTY IS
NOT DUE RETURN DAMASCUS UNTIL TONIGHT, SATURDAY, DAOUDY
HAD HAD NO READOUT ON OCTOBER 5 MEETING WITH SECRETARY.)

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2. AFTER GRUDGINGLY ACKNOWLEDGING USG HAD SHIFTED ISRAELI
POSITIONS ON UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION, HE ASKED WHEN SYRIA COULD EXPECT RECEIVE TEXT
OF "THE NEW U.S. -ISRAELI WORKING PAPER" ON FORMULA FOR
RESUMING GENEVA. REPLIED IT WAS NOT NECESSARILY ACCURATE
TO TERM WHATEVER MIGHT BE CIRCULATED TO THE ARAB CAPITALS

AS A "U.S. -ISRAELI" PAPER. WE HAD HAS INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH DAYAN THIS PAST WEEK BUT HE HAS EMPHASIZED FORMULATION AGREED WAS AS REFERENDUM JERUSALEM. SECRETARY HAS DETERMINED THAT THERE WAS NO POINT IN CIRCULATING A NEW FORMULATION WUTIL ISRAELI CABINET HAS GIVEN ITS OPINION. WHEN WE GOT GIO REACTION, I ASSUMED SECRETARY WOULD THEN DECIDE WHETHER TO SEEK FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS FROM ISRAEL OR TO CIRCULATE FORMULA FOR ARAB REACTIONS. IN ANY CASE, NO WORDING WE HAD DISCUSSED WITH DAYAN WAS SET IN CONCRETE.

3. DAOUDY ASKED ABOUT DAYAN'S APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. REPLIED OUR IMPRESSION WAS THAT DAYAN WAS ACTIVELY SEEKING A FORMULATION WHICH COULD BE AT LEAST MINIMALLY ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES. DAOUDY DECRIED DAYAN'S DEFERENCE TO JERUSALEM AS "PURE THEATER" SINCE HE IS POLITICALLY TOO WEAK TO RECOMMEND ANY FORMULATION WHICH HE HAS REASON TO DOUBT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO GIO. REPLIED THAT IT SEEMED TO ME LOGICAL IF DAYAN LACKS PERSONAL POLITICAL BASE THIS WOULD REQUIRE HIM TO DEFER TO JERUSALEM. DAOUDY THEN SAID SOURLY THAT, BY ALL EVIDENCE, DAYAN HAD MANAGED TO PUT THE CONCEPT OF THE UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION BY INSISTING ON CONFINING ITS ROLE TO ACEREMONIAL ONE AT THE OPENING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE. I SAID THAT MIGHT WELL BE THE ISRAELI PREFERENCE BUT SUCH WAS NOT OUR POSITION. DREW DAOUDY'S ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT OUR WORKING PAPER HE HAD RECEIVED FROM KHADDAM SAID THE UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION WOULD REPRESENT THE ARAB
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PARTIES FOR "THE OPENING SESSIONS," NOT RPT NOT SESSION. OUR ENERGIES WERE CONCENTRATED NOW IN TRYING TO DEVELOP A GENERALLY ACCEPTED FORMULA TO RECONVENE GENEVA SO THAT WE COULD GET AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BEYOND PRODECURE AND INTO SUBSTANCE. DAOUDY REPLIED CAUTIOUSLY THAT THE VERY STRUCTURING OF THE CONFERENCE WILL LARGELY DETERMINE WHETHER THE DIFFERENT ARAB COUNTRIES WOULD GO THEIR SEPARATE WAYS OR COOPERATE TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE OVERALL SETTLEMENT. I SAID WE FULLY AGREED ON NEED FOR COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT BUT NOTED THAT NO PAPER FORMULA WOULD KEEP THE ARABS UNITED UNLESS THEY HAD A REAL WILL TO COOPERATE WITH ONE ANOTHER, AS WE HOPE WILL PROVE TO BE THE CASE. WE CONSIDERED OUR CONCEPT OF A COMBINATION OF MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL WORKING GROUPS TO BE THE MOST REALISTIC.

4. TURNING TO SHARP REACTION OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ISRAELIS TO THE U.S.-SOVIET JOINT COMMUNIQUE, DAOUDY SAID HE DETECTED SUBSEQUENT "CLEAR RETREAT" BY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION FROM PRESIDENT CARTER'S EARLIER STANDS. REPLIED THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO BASIS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION AND CAUTIONED AGAINST GIVING TOO MUCH WEIGHT TO DAILY PRESS PLAY. JOURNALISTS INEVITABLY RIVETED THEIR REPORTING UPON THE

LATEST PRONOUNCEMENT IN WHAT IS A COMPLEX AND FAST EVOLVING DIPLOMATIC PROCESS. WE COULD NOT REPEAT EVERY ASPECT OF OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY IN EACH PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. TOLD HIM I HAD RETURNED TO DAMASCUS WITH A SENSE OF RENEWED MOMENTUM IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND DREW ATTENTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S REITERATION THAT HE WOULD PERSONALLY REMAIN FULLY COMMITTED TO MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS AHEAD.

5. DAOUDY CONCLUDED THERE WAS LITTLE HE COULD TELL ASSAD UNTIL WE HAD DELIVERED THE NEW "AMERICAN-ISRAELI" WORKING PAPER. SAID I ANTICIPATED RECEIVING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER FOR ASSAD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IN THE MEANTIME, I HOPED DAOUDY WOULD CAREFULLY ANALYZE TRANSCRIPTS OF KHADDAM'S MEETINGS. HE COULD SEE IN THEM THE FIRMNESS OF AMERICAN
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PRUPOSE TO WORK FOR A FAIR SETTLEMENT; THE PAST WEEK'S UP-ROAR HAD IN NOW WAY ALTERED OUR DETERMINATION IN THIS REGARD

6. COMMENT:
DAOUDY DISPLAYED MARKED SUSPICION THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION AND SNIDENESS ABOUT U.S. "BACKSLIDING." HIS REPEATED REFERENCES TO A "U.S.-ISRAELI" FORMULATION FOR RESUMING GENEVA SUGGEST TO ME THAT, WHATEVER TEXT EVENTUATES, IT WILL BE MORE ACCEPTABLE IN DAMASCUS IF THE FORMULATION WE NEXT PRESENT HERE IS NOT DESCRIBED EITHER PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY AS A JOINT U.S.-ISRELI PAPER. WE WILL ALSO WANT OT MAKE CLEAR WE WILL WELCOME ARAB SUGGESTIONS.
MURPHY

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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